2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

working harm to the world in general. It is interesting to find in Herrick's *Hesperides* a charm for stables:—

> Hang up hooks and shears to scare
> Hence the hag that rides the mare.

The scissors, too, are among the amulets worn on a silver chain by the women around Nish in Serbia.

Tony was proof against the Evil Eye, for he wore a powerful amulet. A similar one is used in other Balkan lands and in Hungary. A snake is caught by pinning down its head with a forked stick. The head is then cut off with silver—the sharpened edge of a large coin will do. It is then dried and enclosed between two silver St. Georges, and finally blessed by the priest. This protects against all spells. It is evidently a piece of sympathetic magic. Evil is to die as did the dragon—represented by the snake's head—slain by St. George.

Tony's wife was once bewitched and had sharp pains all over, but could not be sure who caused this. The same evil person attempted to bewitch Tony, but, protected by the snake's head, he only felt a few twinges. His wife, who suffered much, was cured by a dervish, who took some hair from the top of her head and from her armpits, tied it up, and burnt it while muttering some unknown charm. The pain went as the hair burnt and never came back. This and the case of the child both occurred at Djakova, at that time a wholly Albanian town.

Marko, too, was cured of similar pains. A Moslem gathered some herbs, but kept their species a secret. He fumigated them over a brazier, muttering a charm. He then tied them up, and Marko had to stand upright with his arms fully extended on either side. The Moslem put the bunch of herbs on Marko's head, drew them down the side of the face, along the arm, back to the body, and down the side of the body to the foot. He then repeated the operation on the other side, and cried: "Pain, pain, fly away from this man to the top of the highest mountain, where there is neither man, woman, nor child, bird nor beast, and stay there!" He burnt the herbs. The pain flew away and apparently remained on the mountain-top, for it never returned.

When I was in the Scutari hospital, very ill with acute sciatica, poor old Marko sought in vain for the right herbs and was grieved at his failure.

Shtrigas were said to be very numerous all through North Albania. At Zumi, near Djakova, I was told that perhaps one-third of the women were blood-suckers; and in Nikaj was assured by the Franciscan in charge that most of the women were shtrigas, and he strove continually against the vile deeds, in which they were assisted by the Devil.

That the whole cult is the remains of ancient, long pre-Christian

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to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. Some Balkan Remedies. Medicine and Surgery in Albania

Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

The favourite remedy in Scutari for the pulmonary form was a drink made of the root of "bader" (*Iris Dalmatica*), which grows wild plentifully. It soothed the throat and allayed coughing somewhat.

Diarrhœa.—A decoction of oak bark—a strong astringent—was efficacious.

Constipation.—There was no local remedy. It was a very common trouble and I was constantly asked for "English salts."

Opium "tea," made by boiling haphazard a handful of poppy-seed, was given recklessly to stop pain. It was common to give a small dose nightly to infants to keep them quiet. In a communal house, where some twenty people sleep together, a crying child is not tolerated. Children suffering from opium poisoning were often brought to the Austrian hospital, the mother being quite unaware of the cause of the child's state.

Animal Remedies.—When I was suffering from acute sciatica, was paralysed with pain, and quite helpless, Marko wanted to slaughter a sheep in the yard and wrap me in the raw hide. As is customary when people are ill, all the neighbours crowded into my room to cheer me. When I was on the point of collapse with pain and heat, the cat jumped on to my bad leg, hurting me horribly. The neighbours chorused: "Thank God! The cat has jumped on her. Now she will not die. The cat always knows."

Then the Austrian doctor carried me off to his hospital.

The reason given for the raw hide is that the sheep eats many herbs and their virtue will soak into the patient. But in fact the raw hide is a hot fomentation. Other beasts are used.

This same Austrian doctor told me he was called to a moribund man. The hut was crowded, it was midsummer, and the heat and stench indescribable. Ten days before, a black cat had been split and applied to the patient's abdomen and was still there.

Enteric Fever.—This is endemic all through the Balkans. In Albania a horrid remedy was believed in. The dung of a dog which had been dropped on a stone and dried in the sun was pounded and given in water. I vainly tried to prevent this on one occasion; but the dose had been prepared by the local priest, who had the greatest faith in it. This repulsive remedy was included in the official pharmacopœia of Vienna till 1795, to be used internally for dysentery and griping pains. In Albania, at any rate, patients survived the treatment. Did the dog's dung supply an intestinal bacillus which combated that of enteric?

Emetic.—Human excrement mixed with water was given. Mixed with rakia it was given to an habitual drunkard with the idea of curing him. The experiment failed.

The boiled flesh of the glass snake (*Pseudopus pallasi*), a common

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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not been unfrequent even in the present century, and the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, makes it probable that in course of time the country may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians have among the Turks the reputation of being but indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of the Albanians who call themselves members of the Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ; Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Christians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary of the departure of her image from the Latin church in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems participate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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since, when all the country was Christian, there stood in the city of Scutari a beautiful image of the Virgin Mary, to whose shrine thousands flocked every year from all parts of the country to offer their gifts, perform their devotions, and be healed of their infirmities. Such, indeed, was the healing power of this Madonna that no sick person was ever known to kiss in faith her white feet and not depart completely cured.

For some cause or other, however, it fell out that there was dissension between the priest and the people, and one day the latter came to the church in great crowds, declaring that unless the priest yielded to them they would then and there abjure the faith of Christ and embrace in its stead that of Mohammed. The priest, whether right or wrong, still remaining firm, his congregation tore the rosaries and crosses from their necks, trampled them under their feet, and, going to the nearest mosque, were received by the Mollah into the fold of the True Believers. Grieved and displeased at this wholesale desertion of those who had received nothing but benefits at her hands, Our Lady of Skodra disappeared during the night from that ungrateful land. What new shrine the beautiful image had hallowed with its presence was, for a time, unknown. Some months later, however, tidings were brought that, on the night of her departure from Scutari, an image of the Madonna had miraculously entered the church of a remote village in Italy, and had there taken up its abode. A voice was also, it is said, heard crying out over Scutari that not till the last *Türki* (Moslem) had left the land of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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A horrible belief prevails among the Ghegs that when men or women live to be a hundred years old their breath becomes poisonous and kills healthy people. Von Hahn says that old people suspected of causing sickness in this way, especially when an epidemic is raging, have atoned for their longevity with a fiery death at the hands of their panic-stricken neighbours.[1]

A curious notion is also shared by Greeks and Albanians that shadows are capable of assuming an independent existence, and, being malevolently disposed, are able to deal men blows which usually cause their death.

The Dif, or Dev (δίφι, δίβι, δεφ, δέβι), is, like the Kūrdish supernal of the latter name,[2] a being possessed of extraordinary physical strength. "He is a regular Dif" is said of a remarkably strong man, as we say, "He is another Samson." According to the people of Elbassan, the Dif is an enormous giant who lives underground and never comes to the surface, and whose business it is to keep the cauldrons boiling which supply the hot and medicinal springs in the neighbourhood of that town. These springs, in common with those found in other parts of the country, are much resorted to for curative purposes. Their waters are, however, drunk indiscriminately for all kinds of ailments, without regard to their various medicinal properties. The cures effected not being attributed to the water itself so much as to the influence of the magical beings who have their abodes in the springs and wells, people consequently go

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 163.

[2] See p. 155. Von Hahn suggests an Indian origin for this word, which, he says, he had found in no other part of Turkey. *Op. cit.* p. 162.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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from one spring to another in the hope of propitiating the various tutelary deities in charge of them.

The Dragoua are children who are born with bunches of hair or feathers on their shoulders, by means of which they are able to fly, or at least to take tremendous leaps. The mother of such a child must, it is said, be very careful to keep secret its peculiarities, for, should they be observed by a stranger, the child would die, and in any case it will not be long lived. On stormy nights the Dragoua leave their cradles, or beds, and, rising into the air, fight with the Koutchédras, the contest often waxing so hot that they uproot trees to use as weapons, which are, on the following morning, found strewn on the ground.

Another curious belief current in Albania maintains the actual existence there of men with tails, either like those of goats or of horses. Persons retaining these appendages of their remote ancestors are held to be always short and broad of figure, untiring walkers, and endowed with great physical strength. Von Hahn was of opinion that this is not a mere vague popular superstition, but has a foundation in fact. "Soliman of Dragoti, one of my cavasses at Ioannina," he says,[1] "maintained that in his part of the country tailed men of this sort were often to be seen, and that he had himself a tailed cousin, whom he had often, in youth, when bathing together, pulled by this gift of nature. An even more trustworthy authority, Theodoris, who had in his younger days been a klepht on Pindus, related that in his band there was, for several years, an undersized, broad-

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, pp. 163-4.

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The *Ghiak*, the terrible blood feud, or vendetta, before alluded to, may possibly, as suggested by Wassa Effendi, have been in its origin a sacrifice to the *manes* of murdered relatives. As the numerous class of vampire stories tends to show, the ancient belief that those who have died by violence cannot rest quietly in their graves still survives, and the slaying of their murderer, or at least of one of his kindred or clan, would thus be rather an act of religious duty towards the dead than of vengeance on the part of the living.

The majority of the ailments which afflict mankind are believed by the Albanians to be caused by magical influences, and I shall now proceed to give some illustrations of their folk-remedies. These are usually accompanied by some form of incantation, the secret of which is possessed only by some wise-woman who has inherited it from her mother, and who, in her turn, imparts it to her daughter. If, for instance, a person believes himself to have received a blow from one of the invisible Vilas, or some other supernal being, he has recourse to the witch-wife, who, after dressing the patient in white garments, conducts him to an uninhabited house in a retired situation. On arriving, she greets the mysterious powers whom she believes to be invisibly present. She then places her patient in a suppliant posture, gives him rose-water to drink, and both observe a solemn silence for some ten minutes, during which she makes certain mysterious signs and motions. After wishing the Vilas good-night, the witch-wife leads her patient home by a circuitous road.

Sometimes a circle is drawn round a person so afflicted,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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755 in which he remains seated three days, at the end of which time he is washed with "unspoken-over" water.[1] This, which is also called by an Albanian word signifying "stolen," is water drawn from the well or fountain in silence and carried home without the bearer having spoken, or been spoken to, on the way, and it is believed to possess highly salutary virtues. Into the water some "sweet" or "heavy" leaves are thrown, the number and also the kind being determined by fixed rules according to the nature of the malady. Among the "sweet" leaves are those of the pomegranate, apple, and rose trees, and also, strange to say, of nettles; among the "heavy," those of the laurel, cypress, ivy, and other evergreens. Three days after such an ablution the patient is expected either to recover or to die. Should he be able to indicate the spot on which he received the blow, the earth is there sprinkled with rose-water in order to appease the offended beings, who are said to be extremely fond of this scent; or he there throws down something, the nature of which is known only to himself, in the belief that the malady from which he suffers will be transferred to the being who may chance to tread upon it.

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755 754 The effects of the evil eye are also removed by sprinkling the patient with "unspoken-over" water, three nettle stalks being dipped into it for that purpose, and giving him to eat three mulberry buds, the mulberry tree being one of the sovereign antidotes for that much dreaded influence.

755 Rheumatism in the hands or feet is cured by

[1] Such water is also used by the Greeks, who call it νερὸ ἀχράτευ.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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bathing the affected member three times in warm water, rubbing it with salt, and finally passing over it the blade of a knife with the words, "As this salt melts, so may the evil melt!" The house is then swept with a new broom, the sweeper saying as the dust is swept out, "So may all evil be swept away!"

If ringworm (οὐθι) appears with the new, it may be made to disappear with the waning moon, by covering the place with wood ashes, and repeating at the same time the charm:

Came the spot and made him foul,
Came the ash and made him whole.[1]

The remedy for the bite of a tarantula is to place the sufferer on a heap of dung, while nine women bearing the name of Maro[2] sit round him in a circle and chant the following incantation:—

Nine Maros here are we,
And but one art thou.
Thou hast worked, thy work succeeds;
We have worked without success.
Evil hast thou wrought,
Good do thou now work,
O mistress spider![3]

When an Albanian wife has no children, or is the mother of girls only, she, like her Greek sister, attributes her misfortune to some enemy of her family having tied together a number of nettles with this object, and has recourse to counter-spells in order to

[1] Ἐβῆ σόρκι ε ντροπόκι
Ἐβῆ χίνι ε ντρούτι (lit. "drank it up").

[2] Perhaps, like the similar Greek name, a form of Maria or Mary.

[3] Tarantulas are called by the Albanians by the generic name for spider μαρίμγα. Comp. Von Hahn's *Albanesische Studien*, p. 157.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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787 825 The cries of wild beasts and birds, and also the circumstances under which they are heard, or the animals themselves met with, have also their signification. If wolves howl in packs, it betokens, in some districts, a death; in others, severe frost. To meet a snake before sunrise, or about sunset, augurs the death of a relative. If the turtle-dove, which in Middle Albania builds in the towns and villages, sits on a roof and coos, it announces to the inmates the return of a relative from a foreign land. When a cuckoo, however, sits there and sings, or an owl hoots there, it betokens a death in the house. The croak of a raven in the vicinity of a house, or the hoot of an owl, announces to the expectant mother the birth of a girl. Sparrows flying in large flocks are held to be a sign of severe cold.

787 Various auguries are also drawn from the arrival in spring of the birds of passage, and the circumstances under which they are first seen. For instance, to see the first swallow or turtle-dove before breaking one's fast in the morning portends sickness. Accordingly, about the time when these birds are expected, and more particularly on the 1st of May, the precaution [751 777] is taken of placing by the bedside a small piece of bread, which is eaten immediately on awakening in order to avoid any such risk. In Northern Albania, on the contrary, it is held that to see while fasting the ●755 first swallow brings luck. Here, too, when a mother, whose child has been born with a running sore, sees the first stork, she places on her baby's head a stone, saying:

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Head thy poultice,
Head this stone.[1]

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A few of the trifling occurrences of every-day life to which a superstitious significance is attached by the Albanians have their parallels in our own country. We say, for instance, when seized by a sudden shiver, "Some one is walking over my grave;" while an Albanian says, "Death is calling me," and mentally replies, "I am not yet ready." When attacked with a fit of hiccough, the Albanian believes that some friend is speaking of him, and calls over the names of all his relatives and acquaintances, in the belief that the one he mentions with the last hiccough will be the one who has uttered his name. If the eye itches, it denotes coming rain; if the right hand, vexation consequent on being called upon to pay money; if the left, the receipt of money; itching of the lips signifies the arrival of a friend or relative; of the nose, strife and discord. Humming in the right ear is looked upon as a good omen, and in the left the reverse. If a little child drops asleep just before a meal, the incident is regarded as most propitious for the whole household.

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In addition to the every-day observances with respect to auspicious and inauspicious actions and events, so many are attached to certain seasons and days of the year as to form quite a Calendar of Superstitions. Some tribes, the Ritza, for example, celebrate their New Year's Day on the 1st of September, and every

[1] Κρυε την πληγη,
κρυε την γλωσσα.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

A 754 of the blood on a silver coin, wrap it up, and wear it as an amulet. It will protect you from all blood-sucking shtrigas.

A [763 761] Shtrigas especially like the blood of children. Child mortality in all Balkan lands is exceedingly high. It is not unusual to find women who have borne from eight to twelve children, of whom none, or but one or two, survive. Nor could I ever make them believe that it was the way in which the babes were kept that was the real cause. So A [751] terrified are the mothers that the Evil Eye may fall on the child that they guard it by keeping its heavy wooden cradle wrapped in a thick woollen coverlet. No Evil Eye, and no ray of light or breath of fresh A [853 777] air, can penetrate. When suckling, the mother takes the cradle on her knees or kneels over it, and raises just enough of the rug to enable her to give the breast; both cradle and child are hung with amulets. The M 754 853 same method, too, is popular in Montenegro and Bosnia. I have seen luckless infants as white as bleached celery, slowly pining away; but the poor mother believed the pining due to a shtriga, who had put a curse on her breast and poisoned her milk, or had looked at the A 755 child with an Evil Eye. Only the very strong survive. Marko used to prescribe washing the child with a decoction of walnut leaves. Neither he nor anyone else would believe me when I begged for fresh air and sunlight.

A 754 755 Only she who has caused the evil can undo it. My old friend, Tony Precha, who was a mine of old-world lore, told me how a shtriga was forced to do this: "The child of our neighbour was slowly pining away. It was the work of a shtriga. One day it died. I saw it cold and dead. The father, in a fury, shouted that he knew who had killed it. He A [68] rushed out and caught a woman and dragged her in. She screamed and denied that she had done it. He dragged her to the dead child, crying, 'Spit in its mouth!' She refused, and struggled and screamed. If she did not spit before the sun went down it would be too late. She knew this, and that was why she would not spit, for it was already late. Then the father, in despair, put his pistol to her head and shouted, 'Spit or I fire!' She spat. The father threw her out of the door. Then we watched the child. Very slowly it began to revive, and in three hours it was quite well. The father had saved it by acting at once." And Tony saw this with his own eyes.

How apt are most of us to believe that *post hoc* is *propter hoc*.

A 754 776 777 In Albania evil spirits are most active in the spring. Garlic is tied round children's necks on or about Shrove Tuesday as a special precaution. In Shala, and, I believe, other tribes, the women tie a black cord with three knots in it to the doorposts along with a pair of scissors, the wool-carding comb, and some berries (species unknown). This is not merely to protect the house, but to prevent shtrigas and bad spirits

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1

777 754 and catch it there, thus literally "saving your face," as did the women of Konjitza in Bosnia.

A 753 754 777 Illness being very largely ascribed to Evil Eye or magic, amulets in Albania are usually called "derman" or "ilatch," both of which words also mean remedy.

A 755 *Sympathetic Magic.*—In this the disease is supposed to act in accord with some object or other and disappears as it does.

A cure for jaundice was thus performed by a Moslem wise man on the child of a Scutari Christian. He tied some red wool round the child and some yellow wool round a red rose in the garden. He ordered the red to go out of the rose into the child, and the yellow to go out of the child into the rose. In a few days the rose wilted and yellowed and the child recovered its rosy cheeks. The efficacy of the cure was undoubted.

Marko had another he thought better, because it could be carried out at any time of year. You put a small fish in a bucket of water. The patient had to stare at it as it swam round and round. If he stared at it long and steadily enough, the disease went out of the patient into the fish, which died.

A [722 164] In 1912–13, owing to the Albanian Revolution and the Balkan wars, large numbers of the mountain tribesmen who pasture their beasts on the Bojana plains in winter were unable to return to the mountains, and were blocked in the malaria swamps all the summer, with terrible consequences. Almost all were struck down with a virulent form of the disease. I went through the worst districts with a load of quinine, and found the people trying to cure their greatly enlarged spleens by slowly roasting the spleen of a sheep at a fire, and muttering spells which ordered their own spleens to diminish as that of the sheep shrivelled at the fire.

A 164 776 753 A [755] Epilepsy was not uncommon in the mountains. It was looked upon as a possession by evil spirits. I once saw a woman fall down suddenly in a fit. Some men at once rushed up and, telling me to get out of the way, fired their revolvers alongside of her head. This was to scare away the evil spirit. As she soon recovered, they believed they had done so. I once saved a woman under similar circumstances from being flogged. Luckily she recovered quickly. But it is not so very long ago that lunatics were flogged in England.

A 777 755 Marko knew of a certain cure for epilepsy, but difficult to obtain. If you see a snake swallowing a frog, you must throw a black handkerchief over it. This scares the snake and it disgorges the frog. Keep the handkerchief, and when someone falls in a fit, throw it over him. He will then disgorge the disease as the snake did the frog. We kept a careful look-out, on our travels, for a snake eating a frog, but we never found one.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

Disease as a rule is attributed to evil spirits. I met with one notable exception. It was at the Serb monastery of Dechani. The dead body of a man had, some years previously, been found on a lonely track in the neighbourhood; there was no wound of any kind upon him. His death was a complete mystery, till a search showed that he had secreted on his person some small objects of value, stolen from the church. It was then clear to all that he had been struck dead by the Holy Mother of God. It is of interest to note that in an early Montenegrin ballad (Vuk Karadjitch, vol. i) the Holy Virgin figures as "Fiery Maria"; she is the sender of lightning and St. Elijah is the thunderer. Together with some other saints they scatter death over the land to cure the people of impious ways. Here, no doubt, we have pagan gods masquerading in Christian garb.

Sympathetic Magic in Montenegro.—In the Tzrmnitza valley I was told of a cure for hernia, performed by "wise women." The operator expected a fee of about twopence and the gift of a cheese or some eggs. She must know the exact name and bratstvo of the patient, but his presence was not necessary. She put some freshly drawn water in a long-necked jug ("ibrik") and set it to boil on the fire, saying: "Water, I call on you three times from heaven to earth—let the bowel of Mr. X return to its place." She crossed the water three times. When it boiled she poured it quickly into a shallow metal dish, repeating the above words, and turned the ibrik mouth downwards into the water. As the ibrik cooled a certain amount of the water would rise up into its neck. The more the luckier—for in such way should the bowel of Mr. X return to its place. The charm is repeated daily till relief is experienced. A fresh fee is exacted each time. I was told that five or six women in Gluhidol practised this art, and that Montenegrins afflicted abroad would write home to have the charm performed.

In Montenegro and in Albania an infallible cure for a scorpion-bite was oil in which scorpions had been soaked in the sun. Marko always had a bottle full of them in the window.

Near Njegushi, Krsto showed me a perforated rock through which children had been passed to cure them of disease. This had been done especially at the time of the cholera epidemic in 1860. Old Mitar, Krsto's brother, remembered this well, and said that they had also tried placing people in the middle of a field and ploughing round them to isolate them from the disease, but, he added sadly, it had not done much good.

In the Tzrmnitza valley I learnt that a similar protection against cattle plague had been practised till recently. On news coming that cattle plague was in the neighbourhood, all were ordered to gather their beasts in a field. Two pairs of oxen were selected which must be

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

Gospels. In Serbian these are called "Zapis." They are enclosed in silver cases called by the Turkish word "hamaljija" both by Serbs and Albanians; or they are sewn up in leather. Such leather cases are usually triangular. Most of the Catholic women of Zadrima, Albania, wore two brass crucifixes on a chain and a leathern triangular amulet case. Such cases are often fixed to the horns of oxen. When a Christian finds a Christian "writing" has done no good, he will go on the sly to beg one from a Moslem, and vice versa.

Priests, both Orthodox and Catholic, write an immense number of amulets, fold the paper neatly in a triangle, thread it on a string, and direct that it shall be tied over the spot where the pain is felt; and peasants will tramp many miles in search of this help. At Ochrida, where I had to examine the patients before the doctor saw them, I came across an up-to-date development of this treatment. A child was brought with his neck thickly swathed. When the wrappings were off, his neck was an alarming dull purple, as though horribly contused. The amulet had been written in copying ink and had come off on his skin! The mother fondly hoped its magic had soaked in.

In both Albania and Montenegro I have seen Moslems flock to a church or a well-known Christian shrine in search of a cure. At the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity, on the festival day at Plevlje, I saw two Turkish gendarmes bring in a lunatic with his arms tied behind him and lay him in front of the altar during service in order that he might be cured.

Several thousand peasants, Orthodox, Catholic, and Moslem, used to crowd on Trinity Sunday to the shrine of St. Vasil of Ostrog in Montenegro—a purely Montenegrin saint. The shrine of another local saint at the Piperski monastery is also in great repute. The best way to obtain a cure is to pass the night lying on the ground, with the head beneath the coffin, holding the relics. For this privilege a high fee was asked. At Ostrog I was told that a Moslem stricken with paralysis had been brought from Mostar on a mule, and had paid twenty-five napoleons to pass the night thus. Next day he was well and returned home happy. But he was an unbelieving Moslem, and soon declared he did not believe the saint had cured him: he had got well of himself. Next morning he awoke again paralysed, and the twenty-five napoleons were under his pillow. The saint withdrew the cure and returned the fee.

An amulet with a good writing on it works good; but evil writing can in the same way work evil.

While I was in Scutari a Turkish officer fell in love with a Catholic girl. He acted honourably and asked her hand of her parents. To their horror the girl not only wished to marry him, but she went to the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

indicates that the first professional doctors inland were Turkish. Previous to the Turkish conquest, when the Serbian Empire was at its height, it is clear that there were no Serbian doctors of repute, for the archives of Ragusa and Venice contain letters asking that the medical man of one or other of the coast towns may be allowed to leave his post temporarily in order to visit an ailing Serbian magnate, and the ballads sometimes say of a sorely wounded hero: "Shall we send for a doctor from the coast?"

The Serbian for doctor is "ljechnik," from "ljechiti" (to heal). This derives from Teutonic, and is akin to our old word "leech." The word "doktor" also is used. The professional doctor was evidently a foreigner. Magic was probably the oldest Balkan remedy for disease. Disease is an inexplicable mystery which demands a mystery to combat it. Wounds, on the contrary, are shrouded in no mystery and demand different treatment.

HERBAL REMEDIES IN ALBANIA

For Sciatica.—(1) The limb is beaten with stinging-nettles till blistered—a counter-irritant. I refused to allow this to be tried on me, though a neighbour vowed it had cured her. (2) The limb is rubbed with a paste of roasted onions boiled in oil. This in the form of gentle massage gave some relief.

Pounded onions are commonly used for dressing contusions where the skin is broken in Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and appear to have a soothing effect. Such a dressing at least prevents dirty clothing from rubbing the wound and, by keeping it clean, assists healing.

A great variety of herbs and leaves are valued as "cures" when parboiled, and applied hot to sprains, contusions, abscesses, boils, etc. In most, if not all, cases it is the hot fomentation, frequently renewed, which does the cure, rather than the particular herb. Thus at Berisha they fomented Marko's sprained ankle with ferns (*Ceterach* and *Trichomanes nigra*) boiled with wild peppermint, taking much trouble to search for and find the right kinds. Boiled walnut leaves are also believed in.

For Weak Eyes.—Pound up wall pellitory, squeeze out the juice and mix with salt. To be dropped twice a day into the eye. Maximum dose, three drops.

For a Cough.—Oil in which some tortoise flesh has been boiled; or a decoction of wild-sage leaves boiled with honey.

The leaves of the wild sage dried and made into "tea" make a very pleasant drink used in Montenegro and Albania.

Tuberculosis.—This disease, in all its forms, ravages the Balkans.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
BULGARIA EEI
ALBANIANS EEI

a belief that many diseases are caused by animals, ghost animals or spirits. Probably one of the most primitive notions of the mystery of pain and sickness, the bite of an invisible creature, is reflected in a fairly widespread name for almost any acute pain or attack, namely *zmija* (snake); while Albanian has *boltë* (a viper), possibly from the Slavonic *bol-* (pain), rather than equivalent to *belua*. In a manuscript of prescriptions of the eighteenth century the reader is told, 'How you may expel a snake from a man' (*Vetus corium combure, fumum per infundibulum in os patientis imitte, iaceat que capite deorsum verso cogetur exire serpens...*). Further, *ocymum basilicum* in vinegar is recommended, so that it will 'drive the snake and any other creature out of a man'.[1] When a child had an epileptic fit, said Miličević, 'a woman of the household goes up on to the roof of the house and hails the first passer-by by name: "Hie, Mark, listen! A snake bit our Johnny to-day but never again!"' Any one wasted by sickness and fever is said to look as though a snake had sucked him. A number of complaints are caused by or through lifeless things also, or bear similar names, but it can never be quite certain whether the analogy begins with a folk-etymology or through some other association. The common name for piles is *klin* or the plural, which at the same time means a nail, a wooden peg, a billet of wood, etc. Observances towards these objects exist for fear of the disease, and nails, etc., occur in the cures recommended. An instance is given by Vuk under *brus* (a whetstone), and an obscene expression for the anus. He adds: 'On Christmas eve the Bosnians hide all the whetstones in their houses lest their children suffer from piles.' The cures in which a connection exists between the animal name of the part of the body or of the disease and the remedy itself seem to be genuine folk-remedies; it is amongst these

[1] Fr. S. Gundrun-Oriovlanin, *Luičeva Ljekarula*, Zb. XIV, p. 83. Cf. Ginčev (*Nešto po bulgarska narodna medicina*, Sb.N.U. II, p. 86), who says that there was a belief that a snake could enter the body of a sleeper by his mouth and suck his insides, and that it could be expelled by eating the bladder of a weasel.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Albania EG1
Croats EF4

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open locks; plants which revivify by touch; plants which stupefy if they are trodden on; plants which can kill by mere contact. The conception of the Blessed Virgin was brought about, says a legend, by the Angel Gabriel striking her with a sprig of basil, upon which God had breathed. It is a theme paralleled in the ritual striking of the household with basil during or after prayer. There are endless folk-tales of similar parthenogenesis.

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The folk-doctor, who is at the same time a seer, brings about this contact, and will then sometimes prescribe a further use of the herb. This was the case with an Albanian herb doctor near Peć, who, when giving out herbs to his patients, first lightly touched them with it on hands or head, and then detailed the preparation of this or that decoction or elixir. This formal introduction of patient to plant expresses the same idea as the gathering or other preparation of a medicine specially for a particular person, sometimes using spells or formulae introducing the patient's name, or selecting the plant to correspond with some characteristic of the patient, such as the 'female' varieties for women, and the 'male' for men. In the list of cures, a number of simple applications are included which cannot conceivably have much effect even upon the epidermis. These appear to be akin to the phylacteries, or Slavonic *nauzy*. For such reasons, if no other, the folk-herbalist, unlike the modern doctor, must also provide the plant himself, and carry it with him, or pick it specially. At Otok, in Dalmatia, the 'doctors'—who were mostly in league with or protected by the nymphs—dispensed their herbs under a fairy walnut tree. The doctor must know the name of his patient, who must either come himself or send a few threads of his shirt or three hairs of his head. The doctor, having said certain secret prayers, laid the plant on the sick man; but if the patient sent a messenger, he must receive the plant in the open and take it into the house himself, even if he was so ill that his friends must carry him into the yard to do so. The messenger must on no account enter any house with the plant before he had given it to the patient,

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10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61

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538 and their own families, because they have become so much
769 identified with the whole nation, its history, sorrows, and glories.

II

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778 So it is also with many of the Orthodox saints, especially
755 those who were benefactors of the country, such as St Sava
[776] and St Ana, to mention but two of many. Some of them have special ceremonies to be performed on their feast-days, others special places or tombs set apart for them. A great wealth of tradition and superstition surrounds them. At the monastery of Visoki Dečani legend exalts the tomb of King Stefan (Uroš III) Dečanski, or, as he is better known to the people, *Sveti Kralj Dečanski*, the holy king of Dečani, who founded the monastery and who is buried in the church. He was given a new tomb by King Alexander Obrenović in the nineteenth century, in which is enclosed one of his hands—all that now remains of him. This tomb, covered with an embroidered cloth, is placed to the north of the middle door of the ikonostasis, and, like those of so many important Serbian saints, has a sort of little passage underneath at the head end, which slants through to an aperture in the side. To this tomb come all those with
A ailments, who, if they wish to be cured, must creep under
778 and through it three times. Peasants from the neighbouring
● 755 villages believe that this rite will certainly cure them; and large numbers of Moslem Albanians as well as Orthodox Serbians visit the tomb with the same hope.

Once when I was there (May 1932) a Mohammedan Albanian peasant brought his wife and two kinswomen. The women, who had stiff legs, crept under the tomb the prescribed three times, while some other Albanians went to the sacristan monk, who read prayers and anointed their sores and injuries with holy oil, which he took from one of the little lamps or *kandila* burning before the tomb. No fee is charged; and this monk told me that every day sick peasants, mostly Albanians, of whom there are large numbers in the surrounding country, come for healing, and that many of them are cured.